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Jerusalem Merchants Return Kollek's Tax Bills

Jerusalem merchants and residents protested the highly inflated municipal tax bills by returning their (*Arnona*) tax books *en masse* to the Israeli municipality.

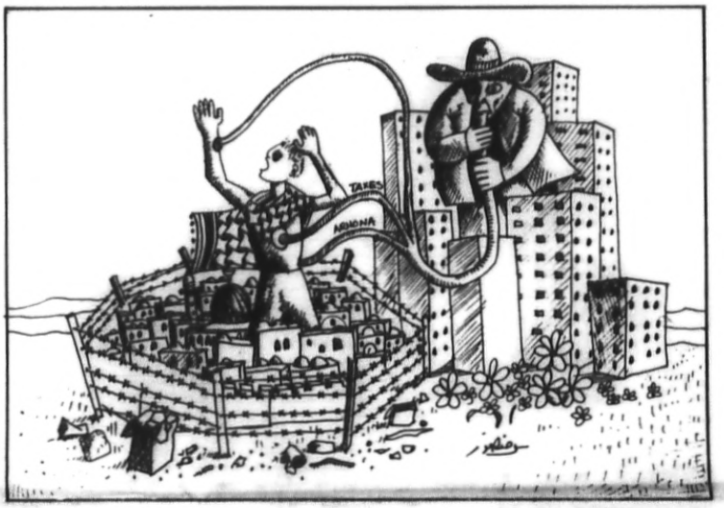
To date, more than 6500 merchants, along with residents of al-Tur, have returned their tax books under the slogan "Taxes Equal to Services."

Officials from the Teddy Kollek municipality have been making contacts with a number of Jerusalem merchants in order to soothe some of the outrage over the 670% tax hike. Amnon Raz, an employee at the Jerusalem municipality's Arab affairs office, met January 22 with Ibrahim Zarour, a Jerusalem merchant who is leading the protest against the municipality.

Zarour told *Al Fajr* that the committee of merchants which he heads will accelerate their protest until the municipality heeds their requests. Zarour complained that the municipality had not yet honoured a promise made July 25, 1984 to translate all municipal regulations and laws into Arabic. He also opposed the municipality's attempts to review the tax bills of East Jerusalem hotels separately from those of the rest of the merchants and residents.

Mustafa Abu Zahra, a member of the East Jerusalem Arab Chamber of Commerce, said that a delegation of merchants, professionals and souvenir shop owners are expected to meet January 25 with representatives of the municipality to discuss the Israeli (*Arnona*) taxes. Abu Zahra termed the return of tax books to the municipality a "natural response" on the part of merchants.

Amir Hashin, Teddy Kollek's adviser on Arab affairs, responded in a letter to the editor of *Al Quds* daily, published on January 24, that he had refused to accept the *Arnona* tax books or even the merchants' cover letter. Hashin also said that Teddy Kollek had approved the idea of setting up a joint committee between the Arab Chamber of Commerce and the municipality to study the taxes.



In Lebanon

Sidon Bomb Wounds Mustafa Sa'ad

The population of south Lebanon held general strikes and demonstrations January 22 to protest the assassination attempt January 21 in Sidon against prominent Lebanese nationalist leader Mustafa Sa'ad. Sa'ad, who heads the Nasserite Party in Sidon, was seriously wounded by a car bomb explosion which may have left him blind. Lebanese government officials blamed Israel for the sabotage against Sa'ad, who has been an outspoken critic of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon.

Meanwhile, military attacks against Israeli troops and the South Lebanese Army (SLA) continued in full force as the Israeli occupation army started moving heavy equipment out of the Sidon area in the first phase of its withdrawal plan announced suddenly last week.

Sa'ad, 34, was holding a meeting with Lebanese Shi'ite leaders at his Sidon home when a car loaded with 100 kilogrammes of explosives blew up in front of his house. The four-storey building collapsed from the impact, leaving two dead and at least 35 wounded, including Sa'ad, his wife and their three children. The Lebanese Sunni leader was immediately transferred by UN helicopter to the American University Hospital in Beirut. Later, he was transferred to Paris and from there to the US for special surgery. Official Lebanese reports said that he was in a serious condition. Mustafa is the son of Ma'rouf Sa'ad, who was assassinated during a fishermen's demonstration in Sidon in 1975, the incident that sparked the beginning of the Lebanese civil war.

Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karameh blamed Israel for the attack. Karameh said the bombing was an attempt by Israel to sow local sectarian strife after its army withdraws from the city. After Israel decided to withdraw its troops, several local observers had predicted such military operations would ensue. Israel denied involvement in the attack.

A popular general strike prevailed in Beirut, Sidon, the Christian town of Jezzine and several other south Lebanese towns and villages in protest of the bombing. Foreign reporters in south Lebanon reported that Lebanese and Palestinian youths

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Mustafa Sa'ad taken to an airplane at Beirut airport immediately after the Sidon blast for treatment at a hospital in France.

Gaza Valley, Nablus Land Seized from Owners

In a new wave of land expropriation in the occupied territories, military authorities in Gaza confiscated hundreds of dunums in the Gaza Valley area, south of Gaza City, and are in the process of confiscating over 1000 dunums in the Nablus area.

The Arabic daily *Al Fajr* reported January 22 that large units of Israeli army and border police encircled the rich Gaza Valley area the day before and used military bulldozers to level over 200 dunums. They destroyed hundreds of olive and fig trees and grape vines. The lands belong to the Arafat, Hojja and Wahidi families. The families owned and cultivated the land for hundreds of years but, as in most cases, the families do not possess the required legal documents to prove ownership.

Three other Gazan families were informed last week of Israeli military plans to confiscate their land. The Alami, Dalul and Assam families received military issued notices of the planned confiscation of 150 dunums in the Gaza Valley which they have owned and farmed for centuries. The military notices did not specify any reasons for confiscation but said simply that the land is declared Israeli property. The area in question is near Nezarim settlement.

In the West Bank, military authorities refused a request by

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One Decade Later

Military Agrees to Funerals for 3 Fedayiin – "On Conditions"

More than 11 years after the deaths of three Palestinian , the Israeli military government in the West Bank agreed last week to deliver the remains to the families of the martyrs for burial according to Muslim tradition. The three men from Dura, near Hebron, were killed in military operations in Lydda and in the Hebron area in 1972 and 1976. The military put strict conditions on their humanitarian gesture, including that the coffins not be opened after being sealed by the Israelis.

According to a report in *Al Fajr* Arabic daily January 18, the Israeli military agreed to a

Abd al-Aziz Rajoub

legal request by the families of the three Dura martyrs. The three martyrs are: Abd al-Aziz Rajoub, killed May 29, 1972 in a military operation at Lydda airport; Khalil Abdullah Awawdeh, killed November 8, 1976 in Dura; and Ibrahim Khalil Salim, also killed in Dura during an armed clash with an Israeli military unit on November 15, 1976.

The *Al Fajr* report outlined the Israeli conditions for return of the bodies as follows:

— The remains will be handed over to the families over a period of 40 days and each body will be delivered separately.

— The military authority will determine the length of time

Ibrahim Khalil Salim

between the delivery of each body.

— The families will be informed only six hours before the remains are delivered.

— The coffins may not be opened.

— The bodies must be buried at 12:00 midnight.

— Not more than 60 persons will be allowed to attend the funeral, including the Muslim *imam* and one town head.

— No demonstrations or any kind of "disturbance of the peace" will be allowed and the coffins may not be wrapped with the red, white, green and black Palestinian flag. Should any demonstration take place, the remaining bodies would not be delivered.

— The order in which the remains will be delivered will be Rajoub first, then Salim, then Awawdeh.

— No nationalist burial ceremonies or eulogies will be allowed. The remains will be handed over to a Red Cross representative and a member of the Israeli Civil Rights Association.

— The whole area will be closed for 24 hours during the delivery of the remains.

Al Fajr Arabic also reported that it learned the families had agreed to all conditions except the one prohibiting opening the coffins. It was learned that the Awawdeh family was the only one to refuse this condition; the other two families agreed to all of them.

The bodies of all Palestinian martyrs killed during action inside the occupied territories and Israel are buried in a special closed military area in the Jordan Valley, whose exact location is not known. Family members are forbidden from entering the cemetery to observe the removal of the remains and their placement in coffins which will not be opened thereafter. The Israeli military has agreed to allow only Israelis who served in the army

Khalil Abdullah Awawdeh

to enter the military area cemetery. The Red Cross, *Al Fajr* has learned, has refused to take part in this case.

There have been two previous cases of families of Palestinian martyrs requesting to receive the remains of their sons. The first was the case of Taha Abu Sneineh, who was killed in the same Lydda operation as Rajoub. The other was that of political prisoner Ali Jafari, who died in the famous Nafha prison hunger strike in 1980. Jafari's family lost their case; the Abu Sneineh family obtained their son's corpse and had an Islamic funeral in Hebron.

Cell Gets 10-20 Years for Bomb Plan

Members of an alleged underground Arab military cell received 10- to 20-year sentences January 23 at Haifa district court. Five Palestinians from the Galilee and one Lebanese were convicted January 20 by the Haifa court of allegedly attempting to blow up Tel Aviv's Shalom Tower building, using a booby-trapped car carrying 55 kilogrammes of explosives.

Farid Abd al-Haq, 23, a Lebanese from south Lebanon, was given a 20-year sentence after he was found guilty of attempting to smuggle the booby-trapped car through the Lebanese-Israeli border at Ras al-Naqoura in August 1983. He was also charged with membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. Qweiqes Qweiqes, 25, from the Galilee village of Yarka, received 15 years. He is a Druze who previously served in the Israeli army.

Ahmad Kail, 25, and Farid A'kawee, 21, both from Jdeideh village, received 10-year sentences. Saleh Qweiqes, 29, also from Yarka, was sentenced to nine years in prison for having knowledge of the group and not reporting on them. A sixth person, Salah Qweiqes, 27, also a member of the Israeli army, had his sentencing delayed because of a psychiatric condition. All sentences were retroactive to August 1983.

The underground cell was exposed in August 1983 following the arrest of Abd al-Haq. The existence of the group was kept secret by a court order until January 21 this year, when they appeared at the Haifa court.

Also involved in the case was another Lebanese member of the PFLP-GC, Issam Fa'our, who was the primary recruiter of the Galilee members. According to the court proceedings, Fa'our entered Israel accompanied by his wife several times and freely travelled around the country.

The defence lawyer, Avigdor Feldman, questioned Fa'our's role in the case, arguing that he could have been a double agent who wanted to set a trap for the other cell members. Feldman presented the court with the argument that Fa'our was supposed to have arrived at the Ras al-Naqoura border post with Abd al-Haq, who was driving the booby-trapped car. He and his wife left the car before it reached the border and supposedly entered alone into Israel. However, after Abd al-Haq was discovered and arrested, nothing was heard about Fa'our or his wife. The Israeli checkpost officials said they believed the pair returned to Lebanon, even though there is no evidence of this.

Feldman also said that records at the Lebanese borders do not show Fa'our's first legal entry into Israel, during which he recruited Qweiqes Qweiqes. Feldman also argued that the Israeli military may have known about the operation and when the car arrived at the Ras al-Naqoura post, they were waiting for it. The Israeli lawyer was basing his argument on Abd al-Haq's statements on the witness stand in which he said he saw a man at the Ras al-Naqoura border post with numbers written on his hand looking at cars entering the post. He said he looked at the man's hand and saw his car's licence plate number written on it.

The Galilee defendents are to appeal the sentencing on the grounds that they may have been framed and that they should have been tried similarly to Jewish terror cells accused of attacks on Arab places and individuals in Israel and the occupied West Bank. The Jewish cell members received lenient sentences on the excuse that they were tried for acts they did not commit but only had an intention to commit.

Lebanon

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erected barriers with stones and burning tyres at major intersections and large crowds demonstrated in Sidon. Meanwhile, shops, schools and government offices remained closed.

Throughout last week, Israeli troops were busy dismantling military installations and transferring them south of the Zahrani River, beyond their planned redeployment line in south Lebanon. According to Israeli military reports, the Israeli army set February 18 as the deadline for completing the first stage of withdrawal. Israeli troops have reportedly increased security arrangements in south Lebanon, in anticipation of intensified military attacks. Israeli military officers were also quoted by the Israeli press as saying that the army will continue to send regular patrols to the Sidon area, even after evacuating it, in order to ensure that no commando forces deploy there.

The Israeli goverment's January 14 decision to pull out of Lebanon did not seem to have affected military attacks against the Israeli army and their allies. The Israeli death toll rose by one January 19 when an army colonel, who was seriously wounded January 14 in a remote control explosion near al-Qasimiyeh Bridge, on the Litani River, died of his wounds. Israeli military sources first concealed that an officer of the rank of colonel was among the wounded. The sources revealed his rank after his death.

The most serious military attack of the week, according to Israeli military sources, occurred January 18, when three soldiers were wounded in a bomb explosion near the village of Jwaiyeh. Israel TV reported on the same evening that a roadside bomb exploded as an Israeli armoured personnel carrier passed on a road near the village.

Also on January 18, a katyusha rocket was fired at an Israeli position in the Jib Jnin area, in the eastern sector, but caused no damage, according to Israeli military sources. Israeli sources disclosed that two RPG rockets were fired at an Israeli military patrol as it passed through the Qasimiyeh Bridge area on the Litani River.

Lebanese residents reported that an Israeli military jeep driving on the coastal road three kilometres south of the Zahrani River was destroyed by RPG rockets. Israeli military sources admitted the attack but did not mention any casualties. The Israeli spokesperson said Israeli troops closed off the area and searched for the attackers. A SLA soldier was wounded on the same day by small arms fire on his position in Nabatiyeh.

Israeli troops discovered two katyusha launchers near the village of Qlai'ah. The report said the rockets were aimed at Metulla settlement in the Galilee panhandle.

Land Seized

Continued from page 1

Jerusalem advocate Felicia Langer to specify the exact location of over 1000 dunums confiscated last year as "state land." Langer represented residents of Jamaeen, Rafat, Zawiyah and Ballut villages in the Nablus district.

Military authorities have never presented Langer with a demarcated map of the area but a court session was scheduled for next August to hear complaints from landowners relating to the confiscation.

Jawad Boulos, a lawyer and associate of Langer, told *Al Fajr* that a great deal of confusion has resulted from the military's refusal to pinpoint the confiscated lands. He said that this could be a new Israeli policy to confuse defence lawyers and complicate land documentation. Boulos said that the case of the Nablus lands will be difficult to challenge in Israeli military court. "The lands were inherited from previous generations who never had to prove ownership the way Palestinians do now," Boulos said. He offered some hope to owners of farmland who, in his words, "have a much better chance at regaining their land than owners of barren lands."

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 247, January 25, 1985:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	**12**
Number of articles totally censored out	**3**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**1**
Number of articles passed	**8**

Canada Camp Refugees To 'Repatriate' to Gaza

In an agreement termed "a good will gesture" towards Egypt on the Taba issue, Israel announced January 16 that it will allow residents of Canada refugee camp to resettle in Gaza. Inhabited by 5000 Palestinian refugees, the camp was split in half when the Sinai was returned to Egypt in April 1982. Half of the camp became part of Rafah, under Egyptian control, and the other half was left in Gaza under Israeli control. More than 5000 Palestinians live in the camp.

The agreement would reunite hundreds of families who were separated by the new Israeli-Egyptian borders. Egypt — which has insisted in the past that Canada camp belongs to Gaza — will pay US$4 million to resettle the refugees.

Negotiations on the Taba issue will resume January 27 in Ismailiya. Ownership of the one-square-kilometre area will be discussed in addition to redeployment of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) on the Sinai border.

Rafah residents contacted by *Al Fajr* expressed relief over the Israeli decision. Hussein Zu'rob, deputy mayor of Rafah, said that the decision will reunite many families who were split when the borders were adjusted. Zu'rob said that land in the Tel Sultan resettlement project has been prepared for the residents returning to Gaza from the Egyptian side of the camp. According to the deputy mayor, water lines and a sewage system have been installed in the project. Zu'rob expected Rafah residents to be returned within one month.

UN officials in Gaza declined to comment on the transfer of Canada camp "until further information is received from the main Geneva office," they said.

Families of Neve Tertza Prisoners Hold Solidarity Sit-in at ICRC

"MK Tawfiq Toubi, of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, visited January 23 mothers of women political prisoners at Neve Tertza striking at the Jerusalem office of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Toubi expressed solidarity with the mothers who are worried about the conditions of their daughters in prison. The MK promised that the Front will do all it can at the Knesset to bring to the open this subject.

"Toubi listened to mothers of the women prisoners, who explained the conditions in the cells. The mothers complained that visits to the prison have been cut to only once a month and that the prison authority confiscated all the personal belongings of the prisoners, including books, newspapers, personal clothes and radios.

"The mothers also said that the prison authorities switch the blankets sent to the prisoners with unsuitable ones if no one from the Red Cross is on a visit. They also stressed the deteriorating health condition of prisoner Majda Salimeh, who is suffering from an eye disease which worsened when the prisoners were sprayed with tear gas nine months ago.

"According to the mothers, the prisoners have not been receiving adequate medical treatment, even though Arab physicians volunteered to give free treatment to the prisoners. The prison authority refused this suggestion.

"There are 23 women prisoners at Neve Tertza, including three Lebanese. The authorities refused to allow a visit by the prisoners' families last week, which prompted relatives to hold the strike at the Red Cross. This measure by the authorities against the prisoners was made in retaliation for a ceremony held by the prisoners January 7, on the 20th anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian revolution. Included in these measures were putting some of the prisoners in solitary confinement for a week or more. Among those prisoners are Samiha Hamdan, Naifeh Sabah, Salwa Darieb and Khwala Azraq." *Translation: Al Ittihad, January 25, 1985)*

FOR AIDING RELATIVE

Lawyer Sentenced 68 Days

Lawyer Yousef Mohammed Raibi from Dura in the Hebron district was released from prison January 20 following a 68-day detention on charges of sheltering and assisting a "wanted" man.

Raibi was arrested November 12 on a charge of being a suspected member of a Palestinian resistance organisation operating from Dura whose leader was Ali Raibi. Ali had eluded the Israeli military for 15 years. Most of this time he spent in hiding in the Hebron area mountains. He was finally arrested in September, 1984 under still unknown circumstances. Israeli authorities did not annouce the arrest until 30 days later. More than 25 residents of the same

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Youth and Unity Blocs Win BZU Elections

The Youth Movement and Students'Unity bloc coalition at Bir Zeit University won all nine seats on the student council in elections January 19. In the hotly contested elections in which 86 percent of the student body decided among three student bloc coalitions and one independent bloc, the winning coalition captured more than 40 percent of the vote. The Islamic bloc cornered a surprising 30 percent of the vote, the Democratic Students coalition won about 25 percent and the Nationalist Students' coalition won the remaining 5 percent. Of the 2394 university students, 2077 voted.

Students each cast nine votes in BZU elections, one for each council seat. The nine candidates who win the greatest number of votes are elected to the council. According to local analysts, the vote for the Youth Movement, even though it won seven of the nine seats, was down 50 votes from last year's tally when the Movement, running alone, won all nine seats. The Islamic bloc, a group of religious fundamentalist students, this year earned more than double the number of last year's votes. The two other coalitions won almost the same number of votes this year as the previous one.

The highest number of votes for a single student council seat won by the Youth and Students'Unity coalition was 820 and the lowest was 785. Tenth in line was an Islamic bloc member who received 635 votes.

The Students' Unity bloc boycotted last year's elections to protest what they called the "absence of national unity" among the students. However, it surprised all local observers this year when it announced two weeks before the elections that it had decided to join the more mainstream Youth Movement in a coalition. Prior to the formation of this alliance, the various student blocs, with the exception of the Islamic bloc, had been discussing the possibility of forming a national unity student council in which seats would be distributed in proportion to the number of students who backed each bloc. The Youth Movement, which claimed to have 1200 supporters, had negotiated for the majority share of five seats. The four remaining seats were to be distributed among the other blocs. However, an agreement could not be reached and coalitions were formed instead.

Marwan Barghouthi, head of the Youth Movement bloc and secretary of the coalition with Students Unity, told the local press following the announcement of the results that the council will continue to represent all the students and will work towards achieving national unity among them.

Work Committee Protests Trial of 3 Volunteers

The Higher Committee for Voluntary Work in the West Bank and Gaza issued a statement January 20 strongly protesting charges levied against three of its members, all residents of the Ramallah district. The three — Nassim Faiq Awwad, 16, Taysir Mohammed Baghir, 19, and Adnan Khalaf Shukri 24 — who participated in a three-day volunteer work camp in Nazareth last August, are charged with sleeping inside the 1948 borders of Israel without a military permit. Thousands of volunteers from all over the world also took part in the annual camp, which aids the Arab municipality in construction and development projects.

According to the charge sheet, the three Palestinian youths violated an Israeli military order issued in 1970 banning all West Bank and Gaza residents from remaining within the "green line" (including East Jerusalem) past midnight without a written permit from the regional military commander. The three youths were found in Nazareth on August 17 at 2am without a permit.

The work committee's statement accused the Israeli military of "attempting to scare volunteers from the occupied territories away from participating in volunteer work camps." It said: "This is the third time the occupation authorities take volunteers from the higher committee to court on the same charges." The three youths are scheduled to appear in Ramallah's military court January 28.

Arab in Upper Nazareth Brutally Assaulted

"The Israeli police in Nazareth show no concern whatsoever about the attempted murder of my husband, instead they are harassing us and increasing our problem." So said Rida Roak, wife of 27-year-old Nazarene Awni Hanna Roak, who is lying in the English Hospital in Nazareth with a broken leg and severe bruises. Roak was found unconscious in front of his apartment building January 14 and was taken to the hospital in serious condition.

The Roaks suspect that extreme right-wing Israelis perpetrated the assault on racist grounds. The building the Roaks moved into six months ago had also housed election headquarters of the extremist Kach and Main' movements, which the Roaks blame for the assault. Rida said that a leader of Main', a racist movement based in Upper Nazareth, personally delivered a threat to Arab residents of the building during the election: "Evacuate the building — or face the consequences."

The Nazareth police have been criticised by the Roak family and by *Al Ittihad* newspaper for their lack of concern and, according to Rida Roak, attempts to cover up the racial aspect of the assault.

Rida Roak in hospital suffering from a racist attack in Nazareth Elite.

According to Rida, her husband had left his apartment early in the morning January 14 and was walking on a bridge connecting his building to the street when he was hit on the head with a solid object. He fell the two metres from the bridge to the ground and bled heavily until he was discovered two hours later by a passerby who rushed him to the hospital.

Hospital sources told *Al Fajr* that Roak suffered a moderate concussion, a broken leg and nose, and severe facial injuries. They added that distinctive neck bruises indicated an attempt had been made to strangle him. Rida thinks the assailants fled thinking her husband was dead.

Rida said that the assault on her husband is proof that the

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Three Sergeants Accused of Brutality were Acquitted

Three first-sergeants in the Israeli army were acquitted by a regional military court January 17 of charges of attacking residents of the occupied territories in the Fara'a detention centre.

The officers were accused of attacking and brutally maltreating three Palestinian political prisoners who were being held at the centre, and of conduct generally unbecoming to their rank and duty. The prosecutor, Major Moshe Foran, claimed the three sergeants brutally attacked the prisoners while on duty between March and June of 1984.

Defence attorneys Yehuda Resler, Micah Berenson and Don Yosef summed up their case by asking the judges not to believe the testimony of the three prisoners who had lodged the complaint and by emphasising that they had contradicted themselves while testifying.

The judges, led by Colonel Zvi Gorfenkel, ruled that the defence witnesses' testimony was full of contradictions and thus impossible to accept at face value. All three judges decided in favour of acquitting the three sergeants.

Journalist Barred from West Bank, Gaza Another Year

An order forbidding Jerusalem journalist Talal Abu Afifeh, a reporter for *Al Fajr* Arabic daily, from travelling to the West Bank and Gaza has been renewed for a second year. The military order was signed by the military commander of the West Bank, Amnon Shahak, prohibiting him from entering the West Bank from January 15, 1985 until the same date next year, and received by Abu Afifeh January 17.

Abu Afifeh simultaneously received another order from the Israeli military governor in Gaza banning him from entering Gaza for the same period. Both orders are based on the British Emergency Regulations of 1945.

Abu Afifeh, 32 is a resident of Shufat refugee camp in Jerusalem. He has a law degree from the Arab University of Beirut and is married and father of five. He has been arrested four times since the 1967 occupation of the West Bank. Most recently he was detained on June 26, 1983 and held for four months at Ramle prison on a charge of printing illegal leaflets. In 1980 he was held under administrative detention for three months at Moscobiyya detention centre. Abu Afifeh is a member of the administrative committee of the Arab Journalists' Association. He served as secretary of the Youth Committees in the West Bank and Gaza in 1983. A recent report by the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights noted that more than 100 Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories are currently under some kind of town arrest. It said most of the town arrest orders require detainees to remain in their homes after sunset and within their town or village boundaries during the day. Detainees also have to report to the nearest police station at least once every day.

Amnesty International also recently published a report on town arrest orders in the occupied territories saying that it "knows of 148 people who have been served with town arrest

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2MKs Accompany Levinger on Dheisheh Incursion

Two Israeli Knesset members, Geula Cohen and Yuval Ne'eman, joined Rabbi Moshe Levinger and his followers January 22 in an attempt to take over the roof of an UNRWA youth centre in Dheisheh camp near Bethlehem. The two MKs climbed up the building with Levinger and attempted to camp out on the roof. The army arrived an hour later and got them down. Levinger earlier alleged that camp youths use the roof of the centre as a post to throw stones and Molotov cocktails at him.

Levinger has been camping out in front of the troubled camp for two months demanding that camp residents be removed and resettled somewhere else. A Jewish settlement should be built in its place, according to Levinger.

Now that Knesset members clearly blessed Levinger's actions, residents' fears have increased. Members of various committees in the camp promptly issued a statement condemning Levinger's incitement. The statement, issued by the Voluntary Work Committee and the Progressive Workers' Committee, listed several grievances against Levinger and demanded that Israeli authorities halt his actions.

The statement said that as a result of Levinger's prolonged stake-out in front of Dheisheh, camp residents' movements have been restricted, camp entrances have been closed and several curfews have been imposed over the last few months. If Levinger would go away and leave them alone, the statement said, peace would once again prevail in the troubled camp.

In a recent development in Dheisheh, a large unit of the Israeli army entered the camp in the early evening January 23 and, according to an eye witness, harassed residents. The army then imposed a 12-hour curfew and patrolled inside the camp until early morning.

Israel Radio alleged the next day that the curfew was imposed after camp youths threw a Molotov bomb on an Israeli vehicle on the Jerusalem-Hebron highway. Sources in the camp told *Al Fajr* that the curfew was intended as mere harassment and a sign of army support for Levinger's incursion. The source could not confirm any Molotov bombing of an Israeli car.

Levinger helping Geula Cohen climb on the rooftop of UNRWA building in Dheisheh camp.

"Package Deal B": Government Subsidies Slashed 25%

As the first three-month economic "package deal" draws to a close, a second package deal is being negotiated this week by the Israeli government, the Histadrut Union and Israeli manufacturers. Newly-released reports of the tripartite negotiations revealed that "package deal B" will jack up prices for almost all consumer items for both Israelis and residents of the occupied territories alike. All government subsidies were slashed by 25 percent, causing a substantial rise in the prices of basic foodstuffs as of midnight January 23. Unsubsidised items will rise by five percent in February and by another three-to-five percent in March.

As for non-edible subsidised goods, the most drastic increases were in water and electricity prices, which rose by 50 percent. Petrol was increased by 25 percent, in addition to the initial 10 percent rise a few days earlier. The two subsequent raises eliminate the Israeli government susbidy on petrol, the impact of which remains to be seen. *The Jerusalem Post* quoted Israeli Energy Minister Moshe Shahal January 24 as saying, "There was no justification for the government's continued subsidisation of gasoline for cars." Drivers in Israel and the occupied territories will now pay IS404 and IS474 per litre for the two grades of gasoline.

The fate of the dollar exchange rate, currently frozen at IS527, was undetermined.

The Dawn

AL FAJR

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

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Israel's Fingerprint

A familiar story: a huge explosion wrecked the Sidon building where Lebanese nationalists were holding a meeting this week. Nationalist leader Mustafa Marouf Saad was seriously injured in the explosion along with his family and at least 30 of his comrades. Two people were killed. The tragedy occurred only a few days after the Israeli government announced its decision to pull its occupation troops out of that sector of southern Lebanon.

The Palestinian and Lebanese peoples can recall similar incidents during the last decade from which both have drawn lessons. Before every Israeli military adventure or act of war directly or indirectly committed by the Israeli government, anonymous car bombs and huge building blasts terrorised the population, with nationalist leaders their main target. Although west Beirut received the lion's share of the sabotage, other cities and areas of population concentration where Palestinian and Lebanese leaders resided were not excluded.

Beirut – April 1973; Sidon – February 1975; Beirut Nablus and Ramallah through 1980; Beirut again in summer 1981 and in fall 1981; Beirut – September 1982; and on and on until the latest in Sidon of January 1985. Almost every such designed terrorist act triggered the predictable series of attacks and counterattacks between the divided ranks of the victimised nationalists while the perpetrators stood back and ploughed their gains. This week's assault, however, had a markedly different effect. Fingers were pointed in the correct direction. The anti-Israeli general strike and demonstrations that followed show that the newly occupied population of south Lebanon have learned their lesson well.

It remains for the perpetrators of organised terror in the Middle East to learn that they can no more rule through division, and that most assuredly popular resistance will continue, and popular leaders will continue to emerge from a people occupied and repressed.

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An Interview with Abu Jihad:

"We had no Choice but to Convene the PNC"

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

In his home in Amman, Khalil al-Wazir, (Abu Jihad), Fatah's number two man and the commander-in-chief of the Palestinian forces under Yasir Arafat, spoke with Al Fajr's *Washington correspondent Ghassan Bishara after the closing of the 17th Palestine National Council (PNC). Abu Jihad answered questions on a variety of topics, including Palestinian national unity, future ties with the Arab states and reports of misuse of PLO funds in the occupied territories. The following are excerpts from the interview, translated from the original Arabic.*

Q: During the past eight months, prior to the convening of the PNC in Amman, the PLO was in a state of suspense due to internal political friction and external pressures. Can you comment on this?

A: After confronting the Israeli aggression and departing from Beirut, the PLO faced another kind of conspiracy. Syrian efforts were geared toward expropriating the Palestinian decision in order to make the PLO bow to its policies. The assumption was that the weakness of the PLO after the departure from Beirut opened up a suitable opportunity [for such attempts]. To implement this policy, the Syrian regime used every means to shatter the PLO leadership, encouraging elements within Fatah, the largest Palestinian organisation, to split under various pretexts, with the aim of controlling decisions of the PLO leadership. When the split proved incapable of controlling PLO affairs, these elements began a military campaign completely supported by Syria and all organisations affiliated to its policies. It began a military campaign in the Beqa'a and Tripoli and engineered the second Palestinian departure from Lebanon — at the hands of Syrian forces.

If the Syrians could have achieved what they wanted militarily, they assumed they could control Palestinian decisions. But the PLO's departure, its establishment in Tunis of a new headquarters for the leadership and its political manoeuvring on an international level, prevented the placing of PLO policies in the Syrian domain.

The Syrians tried to prevent the convening of Palestinian institutions by preventing Palestinian leaders in Damascus from participating in these institutions of varied levels, such as the military council, the council for administering the national fund, the higher council of culture and the arts, the executive committee or the central council. We entered into a dialogue with the Syrians and with the organisations that adhere to their policies. This was a continuous dialogue for the revitalising, not the freezing, of Palestinian institutions.

However, Syria was determined to prevent the functioning of these institutions unless the Syrian condition was met, namely, the deposing of Arafat as leader, a condition repeated continuously by Syrian officials both in formal and informal meetings. All the mediators we sent, whether Arab leaders or friends from the Soviet Union, the socialist or non-aligned countries, reached no conclusion in their dialogue with Syria, no positive results in their attempts to get the Syrians to stop insisting on these conditions.

Therefore, we had no choice but to convene the PNC, which embodied the free will of our people, not succumbing to the Syrian will or the Syrian attempt to impose its own plan to establish an alternative to the PLO, whose leadership would be a Syrian pawn, subservient to Syrian policies and orders and incapable of action without Syrian approval. The Palestinian people reject these conditions and consider the decision to deport Arafat as an insult to their national dignity.

I said during our conversations with Shazli Ben Jadid, president of the Algerian Republic, and to Ali Nasser Mohammed, president of democratic Yemen: "President Shazli, would you accept a Syrian decision to deport the Algerian prime minister? President Ali Nasser, would you accept a Syrian request to deport your foreign minister, Dr Abd al-Aziz al-Daly?" They both answered "No, because this is an interference in our affairs." I answered "For the same reason we insist and we reject this interference. What you reject for yourselves, you definitely would not accept for us." Both presidents asserted that they would not accept for us what they would reject for themselves.

Q: Was Syria the main obstacle preventing understanding among Fatah dissidents, the PLO and the other organisations that did not participate in the PNC?

A: Since the beginning of 1984 we have been negotiating with the other organisations. We did not close the door; we sincerely wish to meet with them.

With the Democratic Alliance we reached an agreement in Algeria and in democratic Aden under Algerian-Yemeni auspices. The Democratic Alliance consists of the PFLP, DFLP, the Palestinian Communist Party and the Palestine Liberation Front. But Syrian pressures on the members of the Democratic Alliance and direct threats received from the Syrian regime influenced the position of our comrades, who absented themselves from the PNC. We understand their situation, and we took the decision on their behalf and held the PNC. We understand their situation and excuse their absence, and we were careful to leave them open positions so that the dialogue can continue after the new leadership exercises its responsibility and assumes its tasks.

As for the National Alliance, which is also committed to Syrian policies, we used all means for them to participate in a broad Palestinian national dialogue, the last time as recently as November 1, 1984, the anniversary of the Algerian Revolution. The Algerian and Yemeni representatives did their best to bring the

continued on page 6

Abu Jihad

continued from page5

National Alliance to the meeting room in which we (Fatah) were meeting with members of the Democratic Alliance, in the presence of the Algerians and the Yemenis. Those linked to Syrian policies [the National Alliance] refused to talk, refused to participate and flew directly by plane to Libya.

We understand the meaning of the Syrian rejection of revitalising Palestinian institutions — it is aimed at paralysing and freezing their effectiveness so the Syrians can create the tools they want, to use the Palestinian card as they use the Lebanese one. The convening of the PNC was a clear announcement stating that all factions and representatives of the Palestinian people reject the policies of Syrian hegemony because their decision springs from their will and determination to retain control of political decisions without subjecting them to Arab or other pressures.

Q: What about reaching an understanding with Syria — apparently you haven't ruled that out?

A: Yes. We supported Syria throughout the last phase, despite its criminal attack on our forces in Beqa'a and in Tripoli. The Syrian support for and collusion in efforts to expel the PLO's forces from Lebanon were once again clear to the whole world. Syrian policies are geared toward achieving what the Israelis were incapable of doing. Despite this, since we left Lebanon and Tripoli, we were careful to continue the dialogue; we tried through various intermediaries, but they were all confronted with Syrian intransaigence, which wanted to impose its conditions, namely, deposing Brother Arafat from the PLO leadership. Despite continuous Syrian efforts, we still maintain that we are willing to continue the dialogue with Syria and we will stay in contact, using all means and all intermediaries to resolve the problem and to restore normal Palestinian-Syrian relations. We are more concerned than the Syrians are about this, because it will help the purpose of our struggle.

This doesn't mean that we are demeaning ourselves if we seek this understanding with Syria, nor are we begging Syria for this position, but rather this position springs from our belief as Palestinians that we need the entire Arab nation and that our voices are stronger with Arab support. Our slogan will continue to be: how can we resolve our problems with those who wish to pressure us into becoming one of their intelligence agencies? We reject this, we reject it completely, and insist on our independence, so that our voices might remain free, invulnerable to bribery or pressures.

Q: Regarding the occupied territories: some of the leadership in the West Bank and Gaza believe that the PLO takes decisions without consulting them, then asks them to implement those decisions. Is that true?

A: No. Whenever we take a decision, our first concern is the position of our people in the occupied territories. We are fully aware of, and take into consideration, their realities, their feelings and the harsh conditions they face under occupation. We appreciate the severity of these conditions and the pains of coping with the Israeli occupation. This is also true of our people in other areas; we interact with their conditions, with their pain and struggle, with the agony from this Arab reality under which they live. Our decisions take these conditions, first and foremost, into consideration. When we do reach a decision, we are convinced that it expresses the struggle and aspirations of our people and their hopes of removing the painful realities under which they live.

Q: In the same connection, there have also been comments that the [Joint Palestinian-Jordanian Committee allocation of "steadfastness"] money to the occupied territories is going to the wrong hands, that those who should be receiving it, aren't. What do you say about this?

A: There is a great deal of misinformation on this issue. Many of our brothers in the occupied territories think that "supporting steadfastness" means that every person gets some direct support. We cannot, in fact, reach every person. But we have principles or guidelines regarding activity in this framework: first, we don't give money to individuals, but rather we support institutions and public bodies and agricultural, industrial, cooperative or social spheres.

When we provide support at one of these levels we are guided by these facts: if we work with individuals, we should start with the families of prisoners and martyrs, who have a right to compensation as a result of their sacrifice in struggle. The families of prisoners and martyrs have a right to expect compensation. If the enemy destroys the house of a fighter for reasons connected to his struggle, it is only fair that the Palestinian society contribute to the compensation and to construction of an alternative house. This cannot be considered assistance to an individual; it contributes to intensifying the spirit of struggle for those who are fulfilling their obligations.

As to the productive sectors, we have ways to deal with agricultural cooperatives and with those who can develop agriculture in the occupied territories. This help comes via societies, through their findings about some of the projects which might help the agricultural sector. After studying this, we make a decision concerning their support. The same is true for the industrial sector.

When many factories in the occupied territories are closed and others are threatened with closure due to the bad economic situation, the support we give enables the reinvigoration and productivity of these factories in order to keep industrial work alive in the West Bank. It does not constitute support for the factory owner, who might be rich, but rather support for the overall industrial sector. Whatever aid is given to them is considered a loan in exchange for guarantees; if the initial terms are met, we can continue making a second payment. If, however, the conditions aren't met, the loan is discontinued. If the loan isn't repaid, the co-signer in Amman is notified and, in accordance with previous guarantees, we get the money back. This is also true of support given to other institutions which always goes to specific sectors: charitable, academic, medical, agricultural, transportation or housing. We consider these methods to guarantee contact with the largest possible number of people.

However, those who think that we pour money into the pockets of individuals to increase their wealth, or that we give large amounts of money,are simply wrong. We should realise that the facilities which were available to us three years ago, like village councils and other institutions, are no longer as many today. Secondly, the amount agreed upon during the Baghdad Summit to aid the Palestinians was US$100 million dollars. In 1983, only US$39 million dollars were received from the Arab countries, and only US$18 million dollars in 1984. This indicates that there aren't vast amounts of money pouring in as some think. The small amounts available to us are spent on academic, medical, agricultural, industrial and social institutions simply because we don't have the funds enabling us to expand our support.

We should remember that the campaign to discredit the steadfastness support funds has clear objectives, namely, to raise suspicion, doubts and exaggerations about money squandered left and right without justification. Whenever a West Banker sees a large villa belonging to a factory owner, he mistakenly thinks the money has come from steadfastness support funds. The truth is that these funds do not support suchendeavours.If money is given to a factory owner, it is under certain conditions and with a repayment schedule. The second half of the loan can only be secured when those specific conditions are met and the equipment or raw materials are present. It has no connection to the construction of private homes or villas. This issue is much exaggerated.

Q: A large part of Palestinian success in the future depends on keeping Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, which depends in turn on taking serious measures to better their life conditions there, to discourage emigration. How is the PLO dealing with this problem?

A: We are aware of the plans of the zionist enemy who aims to expropriate the land and make life for Palestinians more and more unbearable. They want to pressure all aspects of life, the social, the economic and the psychological so that people will get fed up and leave. Our task is always to confront this plan and to maintain,at all cost,the steadfastness of the people, preserving their existence so that their aim will not be realised.

Q: What solution does the PLO seek to the Palestinian problem?

A: The Palestinian people were victimised by Israeli military aggression; the Israelis occupied the land and sent the people out. For the past 36 years this wandering people has struggled to restore its rights and return to its homes. After the Israelis occupied the remainder of Palestine in 1967, the West Bank and Gaza Strip, a large number of our population came under Israeli military occupation. It is our right to struggle. It is our right to ask the world to support our aspirations for freedom and to end the oppressive Israeli military occupation, which uses all means to persecute our people and to perpetuate this occupation.

Therefore, when we struggle we look for international support for our cause. We expect the world to support us in our struggle to return to our homes and to support our legitimate right to self-determination [which the whole world concedes], and our right to establish an independent Palestinian state. This is a right the whole world admits, even if the US and Israel stubbornly reject it. Yet we still have the right to seek these legitimte aims. We believe that the circle of international support we have recieved has expanded.

We are the victims of this aggression. Israel continues to pursue terrorist policies in its bombardment of refugee camps, destroying them with the heaviest weaponry. This enemy has massacred our people in Sabra and Shatila and later in Ain al-Hilweh in south Lebanon; our camps continue to face this aggression and terrorism. We trust that the world supports us in our defence of our rights and our freedom to struggle to achieve freedom and national independence.

Q: What is the current status of Palestinian-Jordanian relations?

A: We are especially careful to ensure that our relationship with Jordan is a natural one. More than 1.5 million of our people live in Jordan, and more than 1.5 million Palestinians live in the occupied territories, for whom the communication link is through Jordan. Therefore, we are careful that these relations remain natural.—This state of affairs did not come about as a result of our departure from Beirut. We were careful to restore normal relations with Jordan ever since we left Amman in 1971. We used every method and a variety of Arab intermediaries; all of them — ranging from King Faisal and King Fahd to Presidents Qaddafi, Boumedienne and Assad, and Arab Gulf leaders — tried to restore normal relations between us and Jordan, until suitable conditions arose after the Baghdad summit meeting and intensified after the Beirut events and Tripoli.

The convening of the PNC in Amman is a giant step forward. We are careful about this,and we are concerned about developing these relations. We'd like to develop a special relationship with our brothers as groundwork for political movement. We are the party most concerned about the cause of the Palestinian people. No one knows better than we do the circumstances surrounding our cause. We are careful to ensure that our activity in the international arena might be a joint one, springing from a Jordanian-Palestinian initiative supported by Arab activity, so that we might attain greater international support for our cause.

Q: What about beyond the PNC?

A: We must be very careful after the successful convening of the PNC. We must assess the nature of the conditions which preceded the PNC, in which attempts were made to target Palestinian legitimacy and to hinder the functioning of our institutions. The convening of the PNC embodied the free will of our people and the restoration of legitimacy to its rightful place. We have basic, fundamental tasks ahead of us.

On the Palestinian level, how can we strengthen Palestinian national unity? Unity is an essential weapon in our struggle. How can we strengthen the Palestinian relationship within the occupied territories and elsewhere? How can we pursue and continue the dialogue with those organisations which abstained from the PNC, so that we can achieve unity within our ranks? We are eager to pursue negotiations so that they can catch the boat and free themselves from pressures placed on them by the Syrian regime. Then we must turn to the Arab arena, to strengthen the PLO's presence and to resolve many of the problems between us and many Arab countries.

We must do everything possible to lessen the suffering of our people in the Arab countries and to decrease the oppression they face in most countries; in the previous phase we did not pursue these issues. We must pursue contacts with Arab parties so as to strengthen Arab unity, so that a unified Arab stand *vis-a-vis* Palestinian activity [can be achieved]; from there we can turn to the international level. Our political activity must be expanded to include all fronts and to strengthen the voice and presence of the PLO, conveying to the world the revitalisation of our institutions and the continuation of our struggle for our usurped rights.

Q: Is there any place for armed struggle?

A: Of course. One of our main tasks in the coming phase, a legitimate right for us as oppressed people facing occupation and aggression, is the right to continue our struggle by all means. In the occupied territories we will continue our resistance against the Israeli military occupation with armed struggle. We continue our political struggle with political activity against occupation by all means, whether by stone-throwing against Israeli tanks threatening our camps, or by demonstrations and strikes. This is the right of people whose land has been taken, to use all means of struggle to restore their rights and to liberate their homeland.

Al Malha - A Constant Reminder

LEFT: The village of al-Malha is boxed in by new high rises on its land. RIGHT: The mosque still stands – but was used as a ping-pong club by Jewish residents. BOTTOM: Old Arab houses in al-Malha are now occupied by Israeli families. /BA photos

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Saleh Isma'il Oudi (Abu Dahoud) was a resident of the Palestinian village of al-Malha until 1948, when the village was attacked and evacuated. He took me to visit his old home last week and told me about life in al-Malha prior to 1948 and about the events surrounding the Palestinian exodus from the area.

Al-Malha is one of the few Palestinian villages in West Jerusalem which has not been wiped out, perhaps because its houses are attractive and well-built. Moreover, its Arab character has been left almost untouched, despite the fact that 2000 Jewish immigrants from Iraq, Iran and Europe inhabit the village today. From afar, one can see the *minarets* of the mosque, which had been used until recently as a ping-pong club. Like most Palestinian villages, al-Malha is situated on a hilltop and designed to merge with the surrounding environment in a subtle and beautiful way.

The typical stillness and tranquility of Palestinian villages, strongly felt in al-Malha, is broken only by the noise of the few cars which climb up the narrow streets. The stone houses – to which only cosmetic renovations have been made – are linked to each other in a fortress-like shape.

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When we arrived at his old house where he was born and lived until 1948, Abu Dahoud was not even allowed to look inside. The Israeli occupant, a Sephardi of Iraqi origin, frowned and told him simply, "It is my own house. I bought it from the government and it no longer belongs to you." Abu Dahoud, an elderly man in his 60's, was embarrassed – even though the response came as no surprise to him.

He had received a similar "warm" welcome just 30 days after the 1967 war when he paid his first visit to his partially destroyed village, al-Malha, located on the southern edge of West Jerusalem. When he was spotted at the time by some of the Israeli occupants, he heard them saying, "Forget about it, everything is finished," and "Go to hell, go to Bethlehem."

Abu Dahoud did not sell or rent his house or his land to anyone. Like millions of other dispersed Palestinians, he was forced to leave his village al-Malha when it was attacked by heavily-armed Zionists in 1948. He was then 30 years old. At present he lives in a rented house in East Jerusalem.

Many specific places in the village evoked memories for Abu Dahoud during our visit last week. By accident, he met Abu Khaled, his friend from al-Malah who still works there. Together they recalled the owner of every house and pointed to the slight changes which have been made to some houses since 1948. Abu Khaled, dressed in his work clothes, was hopeful and optimistic. "In response to the arrogance of the Israeli who is living in our house, I told him that my sons and nephews would undertake the task of restoring what was taken by force," he said. Abu Khaled now lives in Aida refugee camp with 12 other families from al-Malha. According to him, 50 families live in Am'ari camp, four in Dheisheh and tens of others in Ramallah and Bethlehem.

Before 1948, al-Malha was one of the largest villages in the area, covering 30,000 dunums and extending to Baqa'a. It is only 3.5 kilometres from the Old City. Hundreds of Israeli buildings have since been built on its land. The West Jerusalem Holy Land Hotel, half a kilometre from al-Malha, stands on village land. Also among the new buildings are student dorms, called Kiryat Yovel. But the name of the village has been changed into Malkha.

According to Abu Dahoud – who was an active member in the village cultural club and who worked as a clerk in the Jerusalem post office from 1940 until 1980, the population of al-Malha was 3300 in 1944 and increased to 5000 by 1946. The two largest families, Darwish and Karan, comprised about 20 percent of the village population and were the richest residents.

The villagers subsisted on agriculture, livestock-raising and stone-cutting. Everyone owned land but only half of the population depended solely on one of these three sources of livelihood. Others who did not have much land were forced to depend on the three simultaneously. Al-Malha's land was cultivated with olive trees, grapes, almonds and grain such as wheat, barley, beans and corn. Isolated olive, fig, and almond trees can still be seen on the village's land. Only animals were used to cultivate and work the land. Modern machines were not available, nor would they have been suitable for the hilly village.

The village had no running water or electricity. Residents had to draw drinking water from the wells and carry it in buckets. A community spring, Ain Yalu, was also an important source of water.

Until 1945, al-Malha's youth had been studying in the mosque because Islamic *sharia'a* law was the primary subject they studied. A two-storey school building was later set up in 1945 and became a central secondary school for the neighbouring villages as well. Abu Dahoud remembers that the village had many educated residents, most of whom were from the two rich families.

In 1946, a year after the elementary and secondary school was built, the "al-Hassani" cultural club opened and sports and cultural activities were organised there. One of its activities was to help farmers by obtaining and distributing free seedlings from the mandate agricultural department. "The club also started a campaign to convince farmers not to send their women to sell agricultural produce in Jerusalem," said Abu Dahoud. He explained that "we intended to relieve this burden from the village women and we maintained that potential buyers must come to the village to obtain our produce."

The news of the Deir Yassin massacre April 9, 1948 quickly spread to neighbouring villages, instilling fear and horror among the populace. Al-Malha was only two kilometres away from Deir Yassin. As the Zionist troops approached al-Malha, all the women were evacuated and sent east to Beit Jala and Bethlehem. The male residents of the village positioned themselves among the strongly-built houses to counter the attacks which came on April 23.

"The battle," recalled Abu Khaled, "was completely one-sided. Remaining in the village to the end would have been tantamount to committing collective suicide." Villagers were poorly-armed, he said, and they had been forced to sell their wives' jewellery to buy guns and ammunition. But purchasing ammunition was no simple task due to the ban imposed by the British on carrying arms. Therefore, villagers could not withstand the attacks for more than 6 days because their ammunition quickly ran out, a problem their adversary did not have to deal with. Abu Dahoud described how the Jews used heavy artillery against the village and how "it was impossible for the defenders to confront artillery with light guns."

The villagers retreated eastward, with 12 killed and wounded. The Zionists, who had also suffered losses, headed toward the village and captured it. Shortly thereafter, the village school was destroyed along with a large number of houses. The rubble of the destroyed school lies within its still-standing concrete wall. The rubble of the destroyed houses has not been totally cleared away. Even the cemetery is partially destroyed and completely neglected, its graves left open. Abu Khaled maintains that the Israelis opened them in search of gold and jewellery.

While the Israelis were bringing Jewish immigrants from all over the world and settling them in the existing houses, the fleeing villagers remained in shock. "Thousands of horrified people," recalls Abu Dahoud, "were fleeing across the mountains with only personal luggage in quest of a temporary refuge." Thirty-seven years have passed since this "temporary refuge" was sought, with no solution in sight. Even those who remained in Palestine and who live only a few miles from their original villages and houses are forbidden to return for more than a glimpse at their birthplace – and a slap in the face.

Samed:
A Farmer from al- Jib Fights a Settlement

Ze'ev Jabotinsky at Givat Ze'ev settlement overlooking al-Jib land: *"Novel form of Palestinian resistance."/ JH photo.*

by Justin Hyde

An inscription on the side of one of the Hebrew University's buildings on Mount Scopus reads: *"And God will say, make a path, clear the way, remove the stumbling-block out of the way of my people."* (Isaiah). Six kilometres to the northwest of Mount Scopus, Israeli settlers are putting this dictum into practice, inspired perhaps more by superprofits than by exhortations from above. One result of their efforts is embodied in the new settlement of Giv'at Ze'ev.

Giv'at Ze'ev owes its name to Ze'ev Jabotinsky, the early Zionist leader, founder of the Revisionist school that counts Menachem Begin among its followers. The settlement has been billed in a World Zionist Organisation's *aliya* brochure as a new city located at the historic junction between Jerusalem and Beit Horon, where many an army has been defeated in battle in the course of time. Most of the land on which Giv'at Ze'ev was built belonged until recently to the West Bank village of al-Jib. And some of it still does....

In less than two years, 800 apartment units sprang up on land cultivated with wheat and olive trees by Palestinian farmers for centuries. This settlement, "conveniently located" within easy travelling distance of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, will house 2500 families once it is completed, making it one of the largest Israeli settlements on Palestinian land. But the massive settlement has not risen unopposed in the midst of Palestinian agricultural fields. It has now become the site of a novel form of Palestinian resistance to Israeli land grabs.

Over the last few months, Abdullah Salman Khalaifeh and his family, from the village of al-Jib, have tenaciously fought to hold onto the land they have owned and worked all their lives, in the face of attempts by an Israeli settlement company to expropriate them and "free" their land for Israeli development.

In March 1984, the privately-owned Israeli Moreshet Binyamin Company pushed a new road across the valley linking the new housing units of Giv'at Ze'ev to the settler road between Ramallah and Jerusalem and a second extension of the settlement. Individual housing units of the "Build-Your-Own-Home" type are springing up alongside the new company road, which, by a twist of fate, runs right through the middle of Abdullah Khalaifeh's land.

Khalaifeh's first response to the new Israeli *fait accompli* was to consult a lawyer. His land had been damaged and some olive trees and part of the year's wheat harvest destroyed. He wanted redress. His lawyer, Jonathan Kuttab, contacted Moreshet Binyamin officials and entered into negotiations with them. Kuttab reports that the company openly acknowledged that the land was not theirs but argued that they needed a right-of-way in order to reach other land that lay beyond Khalaifeh's and that they claimed they had bought from al-Jib villagers. They offered to buy Khalaifeh's land as well but Khalaifeh adamantly rejected this offer, and later ones, of JD40,000 — no mere pittance for a 7-dunum plot of land.

Negotiations did not produce results favourable to Khalaifeh's legitimate property rights and the company continued to use the dirt road throughout the summer. Khalaifeh harvested his wheat and in August, unknown persons uprooted the remainder of his 40 olive trees.

Realising that negotiations with Moreshet Binyamin were leading nowhere, Khalaifeh finally decided in November to start working on his land again to prepare it for cultivation for the winter season. On November 10, 1984, he ploughed his land, including half the road, without obstructing the company's self-proclaimed right-of-way. Nevertheless, Moreshet Binyamin retaliated the next day by dumping 20 truckloads of rubble on part of Khalaifeh's property and restoring the illegal road to its original size.

At this point, lawyer Kuttab advised his client to drop any further negotiations with Moreshet Binyamin and resort to legal action. Khalaifeh subsequently tried to register a complaint with the police. It was refused, using a pretext provided by the dual legal system in operation in the occupied territories: Palestinian courts have no jurisdiction over Israeli citizens who reside in Israel (as in the case of the company officials) without prior permission from the Israeli officer in charge of the judiciary in the West Bank.

Meanwhile, Khalaifeh's lonely fight had started to attract attention from the media and from Israelis critical of their government's settlement policy. The farmer from al-Jib, in close consultation with his lawyer, decided that the only way to defend his rights was to oppose Israeli bulldozers with bulldozers of his own, and he counted on the support and interest of a rapidly growing number of people.

At the break of dawn on December 21, 1984, Khalaifeh went to his land accompanied by friends, volunteers, his lawyer, a team from Israel TV and a delegation of the Israeli Citizen's Rights Party (Ratz) headed by MK Mordechai Bar-On, and proceeded to close off the settler road with stones to prevent further trespassing. Two Israeli bulldozers arrived at the scene shortly after aiming to destroy the newly-built, small, stone wall. They stopped only when Khalaifeh and some of his friends physically threw themselves in front of the on-roaring machines. Two bulldozers rented by Khalaifeh then began to level the land in order to prepare it for cultivation.

The Israeli army arrived within minutes and froze a situation that was threatening to get out of hand for the settlers. The military intervention, however, threw open the doors to legal recourse. In fact, the legal adviser to the Israeli military government promised his full cooperation in bringing the case to court and obtaining a restraining order. To this date, however, no restraining order has been issued by the authorities. Instead, the head of the Ramallah police station told Khalaifeh that both he and Moreshet Binyamin could work the land, regardless of the question of who was the rightful owner.

Khalaifeh spent the rest of that day, December 21, and all of the next one (a Saturday) working his land and preparing it for agricultural use. Early on Sunday at around 2:00 am, the Moreshet Binaymin Company retaliated. They destroyed Khalaifeh's land with bulldozers, carrying off most of the top soil, and sabotaging one of the bulldozers Khalaifeh had rented. When Khalaifeh and friends visited the scene later that day, they found angry settlers who looked armed.

Unfazed by the adversities, Abdullah Khalaifeh was determined to carry on his battle with the settlers, convinced of his rights and hoping that his perseverance would pay off in the end. On several occasions he had stated very clearly that he felt that he was "liberating his land" and that his actions were having a positive effect on other farmers in al-Jib who were in a similar predicament.

Mousa Abu Dayyeh, for example, who owns a neighbouring plot which has been earmarked as the site for an Israeli-owned gas station, also decided to counter the settlers' efforts to take his land. The approach these farmers have taken is unique because they have chosen to back up their just claims to their land by a joint effort to prove their case in court while actively resisting the settlers on the ground.

The police refused to hear Khalaifeh's complaint about the destruction that took place December 23 until a week later. Meanwhile, Moreshet Binyamin officials had admitted to the police that they were the ones who had in fact destroyed Khalaifeh's land and rebuilt the road but this time they claimed that the land was legally theirs.

To date, however, the company has failed to produce the proper ownership papers and, in fact, company officials once more made him an offer to purchase the land, implying that they had never bought it in the first place. The company's offer was relayed to Khalaifeh's lawyer by the legal advisor to the military government, indicating the close relationship between the Israeli authorities and the settlers.

No legal action was taken and instead both Khalaifeh and Abu Dayyeh were urged to obtain survey maps containing full coordinates concerning their plots of land. These should serve to discount Moreshet Binyamin's claims that they had indeed legally purchased both farmers' property.

On the land itself a temporary *modus vivendi* had been worked out where Khalaifeh could work his land without interfering with the settlers' right-of-way, while the settlers would refrain from obstructing Khalaifeh's activities.

On the morning of Sunday, January 13, Khalaifeh again went to his land in the company of friends and a team from Israel TV. Together they placed a fence around the upper half of his property and planted new olive tree seedlings to replace the ones that had been destroyed earlier. Their work completed, they returned home with the intention of returning five days later to fence off and replant the lower half of Khalaifeh's property. Early Monday morning, however, company bulldozers once again hit back by widening the illegal road and dumping tons of sand on Khalaifeh's land in the process, but this time they left the fence and seedlings unharmed.

The publicity that Khalaifeh earned himself through his courageous stand against the settlers brought Israeli MKs Matti Peled (PLP) and Tawfiq Toubi (DFPE) to submit an "oral" question concerning the al-Jib land grab on December 14. It was rejected — with no reasons given — by Knesset speaker Shlomo Hillel's office the next day.

It has been almost one year since Israeli settlers bulldozed the illegal road through Khalaifeh's land. Court action so far has produced no tangible results. This should be no surprise as the Israeli authorities from the very beginning have protected settlers and justified illegal settler land grabs. The only progress Khalaifeh has made stemmed from his own courage to stand up to the settlers and resist their brazen certainty that "might makes right" by consistently working the land that he knows is rightfully his.

The WZO's *aliya* brochure heralds the advance of the settlers into the West Bank as follows: *"Less than a decade ago, the establishment of new communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza conjured up images of tents and portable generators, of official indifference — if not outright opposition. Unyielding idealism and spirited political debate were the characteristics of the reborn Jewish presence in the heart of the land of Israel. Yet day after day, month after month, the presence grew, the few became many, until today, the facts on the ground have been translated into a new reality, both in terms of the nation's security and future development."*

It is this new reality that Abdullah Khalaifeh is trying to reverse because it negates the reality that he and his family have always known, lived from — and cherished.

Israeli Jewish settlers turned out to show Khalaifeh how they feel: *"Actively resisting settlers on the ground./ JH photo.*

TOP: Landowner Suleiman Khalaifeh with two young relatives January 1985.
CENTRE: Khalaifeh fences his land January 13 with help from volunteers
BOTTOM: The Khalaifeh family in their wheat field before the troubles began.

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Renew the March-with Heads Held High

by Sari Nusseibeh

In spite of the widening gulf between the PLO and the Syrian regime, I do not think that the differences between most of the major factions of the revolution — including the factions that maintain their tactical alliance with the Syrian regime — are strategic, or related from a practical point of view to the nature of a settlement that is acceptable to the Palestinians under the present regional and international circumstances; rather, these differences are mostly tactical and temporary, relating to the method of dealing with existing and emerging realities -in the critical condition which the PLO specifically faces and which the Arab nation more generally has to cope with. These differences may also be based on the differing evaluations of the present strategic balance, existing alliances and the possibilities presented by this formula. In other words, the majority of the revolution's main factions are still committed, both from the point of view of the transitional programme and the resolutions of the 16th PNC, to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, alongside Israel. This, regardless of the Arab states' attitude, including Syria's, to this matter, and in accordance with the Brezhnev initiative. However, the differences may emerge concerning the role which the PLO has to play in a situation threatened by the possible imposition of a treaty of surrender on the Palestinian people: some argue that it is necessary to assert the Palestinian dimension in the political arena, utilising every possibility and alliance with the aim of preventing a defeatist settlement in the worst circumstances, and of manipulating any such settlement in favour of the Palestinian goal in the best circumstances. Some argue that it is impossible to deal with the present circumstances except through crystallising and developing the ideological struggle both within the Palestinian and the Arab camps, because the Palestinian national bourgeoisie has lost the ability (it is wrongly assumed) of maintaining the revolutionary march. Others adopt positions between these two.

However, since the differences are in general not strategic, and since Palestinian steadfastness, regardless of ideology, aims at preventing an unjust settlement, and since the unity of the misfortune will sooner or later unify the ranks, we must make the future inevitability of our unification stop us from exaggerating our present disagreements, thus preventing those bouts of passion that only add fuel to a dying fire. In this connection, one cannot but praise all calls for the resumption of national dialogue, including those by the official spokespersons of the Democratic Front.

The bases in all these attempts must remain to be the PNC resolutions in its successive sessions, including its 17th, as well as the Aden-Algeria agreements, in the hope that a new and extraordinary session of the PNC will be held in which national unity between the independent revolutionary factions will be embodied and the mercenary individuals and groups will be expelled.

However, the crisis of the Palestinian revolution will not disappear simply through unification or through holding a new and unifying session for the PNC. The revolution's crisis is the crisis of its distance from Palestinian reality. It is the crisis of its credibility and its effectiveness. It is not possible to overcome this radical crisis except through dealing in a scientific-revolutionary method with the painful reality on all fronts. The following are examples:

* Politically: It is natural for us as a Palestinian people to reject Security Council Resolution 242, the Reagan initiative or Camp David. But it is equally necessary for us to present our own conception for an acceptable peaceful settlement in a clear fashion, devoid of hypocrisy.

It is also necessary to present our conception of the instrument with which we hope to achieve our aim, according as the stages develop through which our revolution goes. In this connection, the Palestinian rejection of 242, and its evaluation as a resolution which ignores a number of critical aspects, should not mean that we cannot look into the possibility of utilising it. Perhaps it can be utilised in a dual formula, consisting of two complementary and simultaneous agreements; the first agreement may be a territorial agreement between Israel and Jordan and between Israel and Syria based on 242. The second agreement may be a political agreement between the Jordanians and the Palestinians, stipulating the establishment of an independent Palestinian state (on territory evacuated by Israel) in accordance with the Fez plan.

Indeed, while such a conception may be aimed at avoiding US and Israeli recognition of the PLO, it may on the other hand have its own positive side, such as avoiding the recognition of Israel by the PLO and the Palestinian people. In any case, while there is no sell-out involved if we study the possibility of working on this dual front: there will be a real sell-out if we ignore the study of every possibility to regain our national rights, including the possibility of joint Jordanian-Palestinian action. This, notwithstanding the fact that the strategic balance does not point to the possibility of an Israeli withdrawal in the first place and that no party has the right to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people except its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO.

* Militarily: It is entirely naive for us as a people and a revolution to demand that we lay down our arms. There is no such thing as a purely political option and no such thing as a purely military option. The only option in the real world is a political-military option. It is in this sense that it is necessary to develop an efficient and effective military capability, one which is commensurate with our political aim, neither exceeding it nor falling short of it. In addition, our insistence on the methodic nature of military action should lead us to develop a brave attitude of condemning terrorist activity, assassination and all other contemptible methods which do not suit a progressive revolution or a people which derives its continued existence from its moral codes. If we have an example to follow in this respect, we surely have the model of our leader Abu Ammar, who stood in the middle of the United Nations wearing his gun and shouting "Do not make me let go of the olive branch I hold in my hand."

* Administratively: It is necessary in this field to spread revolutionary thought and action over the entirety of our institutions, with the aim of developing and applying an effective policy in steadfastness, whether in the areas of housing, health, education, etc. We cannot except through scientific-revolutionary action raise ourselves from our painful reality to the minimum level whereby we can protect the continued existence of our people. Neither Western-style methods of administration alone nor revolutionary methods by themselves can pull out our people from its depraving condition. Only by combining these two styles can we achieve this. At all events, we demand that our march be renewed only over the remnants of the financial beneficiaries of our revolution and after all swamps have been purified, in accordance with Abu Iyad's call for applying the philosophy of "How have you come by this (financial asset)?" on the revolution's functionaries.

Finally, and with regard to the occupied territories, I concur with the necessity of setting up a wide national front to resist occupation. But this must be done after we have first liberated ourselves from the hidden and absent leaderships which every now and again dictate for us our courses of action. We do not want secret leaders who publish popular manifestos on behalf of the people and who then hide behind our women and children. We want one hundred thousand expellees like Abu Ali Shahin. We want one hundred thousand confined resisters like Bassam Shaka'a. We want one hundred thousand martyrs like Sharaf Taybi. We want leaders who will stand with their heads held high in the front ranks, with whom our masses may take joint decisions and have joint responsibilities. Once again we many use Abu Ammar as a model, as he once stands in Tel Za'tar risking his life, and as he then stands in Cairo risking his name and reputation, for the sake of his people. *(Translation: from the Arabic Al Fajr, January 15, 1985)*

Sari Nusseibeh is a professor of Philosophy at Bir Zeit University

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor:

Small wonder that *Al Fajr* Reporter Mahmoud al-Ramahi was fined IS60,000 for "possession of illegal material" (11/2/84 *Al Fajr*) by the Israeli military court.

As American subscribers to *Al Fajr*, we are led to only one inescapable conclusion: poor Mahmoud was (unwittingly) apprehended by Israeli authorities while in possession of a *typewriter*!

But, who knows, perhaps Mahmoud should thank God for his blessings? If Meir Kahane has his way, soon Mahmoud's *fingers* will be declared "illegal." (Those, too, would doubtlessly be expropriated.)

Meanwhile, please rest assured that our fingers will remain very busy here in California — writing letters to our congresspersons, senators and president. Also, please rest assured that we always *circulate* old copies of *Al Fajr;* they never end up in the trash basket on our account.

Keep up the fine work. It is truly appreciated, and there are (some) Americans who sincerely *do* care, want to help and desire to receive more information.

D.M. Hollywood,California

Art Against Occupation

Adnan Zbeidi, *Untitled.*

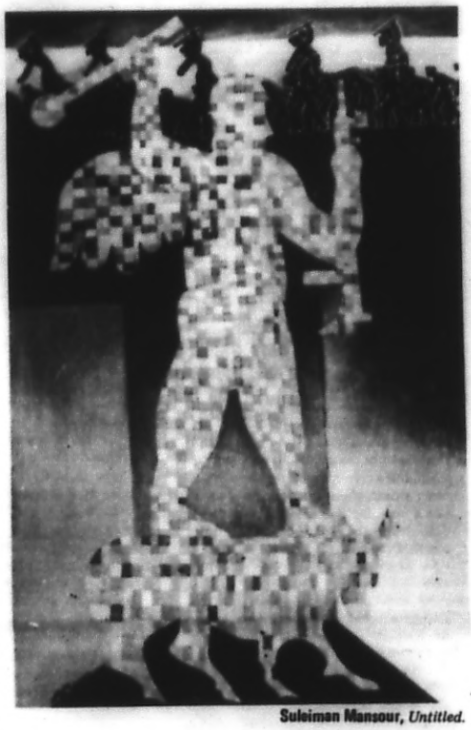
by Majed Nakfoury

Israeli and Palestinian art was featured in a new exhibit entitled "Israeli and Palestinian Artists Against Occupation — For Freedom of Expression," which opened Thursday, January 10, 1985 in three Tel Aviv galleries — Davir, Tat-Rama, Ahad Ha'am. About 60 artists participated in the exhibit.

A large crowd attended the opening Thursday evening. It was the first of its of its kind.

Overall, it seemed that the Israeli artists' work was less effective than the Palestinians' because their paintings did not reflect the struggle against the occupation. For this reason, the Palestinian paintings had more of an impact on viewers who saw the exhibit. Most of the Palestinian artists portrayed their participation in the struggle because they experience the brutal reality of occupation on a daily basis, but the Israelis are independent and free from any of those harassments. They are outside the struggle against occupation, although they show solidarity and sympathy towards Palestinians.

The exhibition ended on January 18, 1985, after nine days. Its next stop is Nazareth, and it will open in Jerusalem in March.



Suleiman Mansour, *Untitled.*

Harold Rubin, *Homage to Rabbi Kahane.*

Gershon Knispel, *Hagar.*

Nabil Anani, *Untitled.*

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Local Palestinian papers focused on the Israeli plan to withdraw from Lebanon this week. The details of the expected unilateral withdrawal were covered with features, news, photos and editorials. Statements by Lebanese leaders blaming the wave of explosions in Beirut on the Israeli government were also published.

The recent capture of the gang of thieves who are said to be responsible for many robberies in the Jerusalem area received prominent coverage. Police found weapons and uniforms used by the Israeli army in the thieves' possession, papers reported.

Confession with Significance

Hosni Mubarak was not lying to *Al Ahram* and the *US News* when he said Lebanon's "problem," his "problem" and the "problem" of the like is not with Israel but with Syria.

It is only natural for the Sadati Egyptian president — who said in the same interview that he agrees with Shimon Peres 100 percent — to view Syria, which stands firmly against American control, as the insurmountable obstacle in the path of American schemes.

TheCairo-Amman axis considered the May 17 agreement an important achievement for the American trend. They bet it would be the entrance to a new agreement on the Palestinian cause. They worked for the isolation of Syria. While Syria was facing the fire power of the American destroyer *New Jersey*, they declared that they disagreed with Syria's policy in Lebanon.

The "problematic Syria" which Mubarak referred to rejected the May 17 agreement and American plans for Lebanon and the Middle East. Mubarak and his friends' "problem" grew bigger when the May 17 agreement was cancelled. The credibility of the struggle option grew at a time when Mubarak and friends were stating that there was no alternative to dependence on Washington.

This is the "problem" posed by Syria, according to Mubarak. It is a problem for imperialism. But it is a source of pride to Arab nationalists. It now stands up against those preparing for a new American role in the Palestinian cause. Because of it, Cairo and Amman find it difficult to convince the Arab and Palestinian masses to authorise it.

Even Washington still remembers its experience in Lebanon. It doubts whether her followers are able to go all out on the way to liquidation as required by America and Israel. The US believes Syria can abort the Reagan plan on the Middle East as it aborted the Reagan plan on Lebanon.

In view of this Sadati confession by Mubarak, the nationalists should contemplate the current situation. They should not give the chance to anyone, through concentrating their attack on Syria, to identify their "problem" with Syria as Mubarak is so openly doing.

AL TALIAH
January 17

The Two Superpowers... Source of Hope

In 1977 the US and the Soviet Union agreed on a political framework to solve the Middle East crisis. The agreement, known as the Carter-Brezhnev agreement, did not work out because of Sadat's initiative, which totally excluded the USSR from the peace process.

We can say that the subsequent period did not actually contribute to peace. On the contrary, the situation further deteriorated. The Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty was no more than a piece of paper. The present Egyptian administration is for an international peace conference attended by all, including the PLO, the USSR and the USA.

Just two days ago a White House spokesperson declared that the two superpowers will soon start talks on arms control. We in the Middle East, like the rest of the world, are optimistic. We are sure that the Carter-Brezhnev principles would be the basis, that is, of an international peace conference. The Arab world is required now, more than ever before, to reach a common Arab agreement.

AL QUDS
January 18

The Soviet–American "Consultations"

It is now certain that the Soviet Union and the United States will hold consultations on the Middle East within the next two months, as agreed by the Soviet foreign minister and the US secretary of state at their meeting in Geneva.

The United States is not likely to change its position towards the Middle East. The US perhaps does feel the need to return to arms control talks with the Soviet Union. And it is true that it did succumb to the Soviet demand to put the "Star Wars" plan on the agenda and that it has suffered more than one blow in its attempts to install Pershing missiles in Europe.

The United States, moreover, might have been forced to give a cosmetic tactical concession on the Middle East. But it is true that the American position in general is still as it has always been, that is, hostile to the rights of the Palestinian people and aggressive in its efforts to enhance imperialistic dominance over the people of the world.

AL SHA'AB
January 19

BZU Student Council

The democracy that prevailed throughout the BZU elections and their results affirm the effectiveness of national dialogue and its importance to achieve national unity.

The landslide victory of the Tibi and Tarayrah bloc illuminates a number of landmarks and signals that have deep implications for confronting various alliances and the inevitability of uniting in one national stand through the legitimate sole representation of the PLO

The clear results reached through quiet preparation and responsible dialogue among rival blocs may serve as a model for other elections.

The student bodies are our most precious asset. They indicate the ability of our people to maintain national unity and independent decision.

We hope that other student councils will play their role in deepening national commitment.

AL FAJR
January 21

To Beautify Reagan?

It was natural for Arab regimes to participate in Reagan's inauguration. But it was not natural to convey this official Arab feeling to the Arab masses through an active media campaign to beautify the American position.

An expected American move to amend Reagan's plan was reported. This report seems to be especially designed for use by Arab leaders who will visit Washington soon. Since Reagan's plan was rejected by most of the Arab regimes following its rejection by the PLO, these Arab leaders are trying to sell it now to the Arab masses.

Let these leaders go to Washington. But we will laugh at their naive attempts to beautify the American position. We have realised that a solution can be achieved only through confrontation and steadfastness.

AL FAJR
January 22

Israel Withdrawal Coupled with Massacre!?

No sooner had the Israeli forces begun withdrawal from the Sidon area than a criminal act took place in Sidon itself. Mustafa Sa'ad and 40 other people were seriously injured. This is the beginning of the Israeli withdrawal. News reports assert that massacres will take place against Palestinian camps and Lebanese nationalist forces.

US National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane had explicitly threatened that unless Israel's conditions were met, massacres would take place. He holds the Lebanese government responsible for them.

What is the attitude of the Syrian regime? We warn of a disaster that will affect not only the Lebanese and Palestinians in south Lebanon but will rock the whole area. The safety of the residents in the south, whether Lebanese or Palestinian, is the responsibility of the whole world.

AL FAJR
January 23

Najah Professor Lectures at Hebrew University

Najah professor Hisham Awartani gave a lecture January 17 to an overflow crowd at the Truman Institute at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The lecture concerned the dynamics underlying the transformation in Palestinian economic and political life in the occupied territories since June 1967.

The novel aspect of the event was also perhaps its most controversial: it was the first time that a Palestinian from a West Bank university gave a lecture to a group of Israeli scholars at the Truman Institute on Mount Scopus campus. Recognising the uniqueness of the situation, Awartani opened his speech with the following remarks: "Although my presence here can hardly be viewed as an expression of normal life for the Palestinians under occupation, I do hope, nevertheless, that it constitutes a small step towards improving the notoriously low level of communication between Jews and Palestinians."

Awartani then proceeded with a general review of the economic ramifications of the occupation for Palestinians. Dividing the years since 1967 into three phases, Awartani termed the first seven years of the first phase "the era of economic buoyancy" in the West Bank, when initial interaction with Israel spurred economic growth. The second phase of development, from 1977-1984, Awartani considered "a U-turn in the economic and political history of the occupied territories, and maybe in the history of Israel as well." The Likud ideology of annexation, he asserted, "was the underlying motive for all policies which were subsequently implemented."

The economic and political developments which followed have squeezed residents of the occupied territories into a tight corner, explained Awartani. Forced to import most manufactured foodstuffs from Israel, with neither funds nor permission to initiate a local industrial infrastructure, robbed of much of their agricultural land and compelled to become wage labourers instead, Palestinians in the occupied territories are now facing massive unemployment, particularly among university graduates. Awartani cited one estimate of 10,000 unemployed graduates in the West Bank alone. On the other hand, the escalating rate of emigration has all but ceased due to new Jordanian restrictions, Awartani said, so Palestinians are trapped. If the Israeli economy worsens substantially and massive layoffs effect labourers from the territories, an explosive situation will result, he said.

Awartani said he does not expect much from the third phase — that of the present Peres government — in the way of help for the deteriorating Palestinian economy. "Instead of facing real issues head on, Peres started airing concern on what he called the quality of life for Arab residents. We still don't know what this new slogan means, but we do already feel that his government has literally done nothing so far to reverse the rapid march to disaster," said Awartani.

One of six Palestinians who went to the US in November to meet with American Jews about improving the standard of life in the occupied territories, Awartani has since become very disillusioned. "We gave them a list of preliminary requests as tests of their intentions — not to destroy Jiflik farmer shacks, for one, and to allow Najah to reopen and to resume construction of its engineering college, for another. None of these simple requests were granted. Despite his promises, Peres does whatever he wants."

In conclusion, Dr Awartani observed: "I hope that in a moment of truth the Israelis will realise that what they did to the Palestinians cannot be rewarded with peace. Instead, they have planted and nurtured the seeds of violence and revenge."

Blindness Here 17x Western Average

About 1.7 percent of the West Bank and Gaza population has bilateral blindness, compared with about 0.1 percent in most of the Western countries, said local opthamologist, Marwan Zeidan.

In a lecture at St John's Eye Hospital in Jerusalem January 16, Dr Zeidan said that a year-long survey conducted by a medical relief outreach programme in 1982-83 found that 6.8 percent of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories has extremely poor vision in both eyes. Zeidan said, "Much of this blindness could have been prevented had existing treatment been available at the appropriate time."

The outreach programme, which was started four years ago, aimed at transmitting eye treatment to thousands of Palestinian villages and refugee camps whose residents are financially unable to travel to Jerusalem to receive treatment. According to Zeidan, the outreach programme uses two mobile health units which travel to rural areas on a regular basis. A team comprised of an opthamologist, a nurse, a driver and volunteers accompany the units on field trips.

Israeli soldiers dismantle military instalations in south Lebanon preparing for withdrawal.

Intelligence to Scrutinise Jordan Passport Holders

Holders of Jordanian passports may have to appear in person in Amman in order to have their passports renewed, the Jordanian parliament decided January 23.

In a closed session of the parliament, attended by Jordan's premier, Ahmad Obeidat, a majority of Jordan's MPs voted for an amendment to the current passport law. According to the amendment, the interior minister will be given the authority to decide who will consider the issuing and renewing of passports for applications made through embassies abroad.

Applicants for Jordanian passports who live outside Jordan will have their applications returned to Jordan for consideration before a final decision is made. The authorities who will study the applications, believed to be the military intelligence branch, will then have the right to renew or deny the passport or recall the applicant to Amman.

Amman Radio quoted Information Minister Leila Sharaf as saying that the new amendment will give the government the right to recall to Jordan any passport applicant "who may be considered a security risk to the state." The decision is likely to adversely affect politically active students, especially Palestinian students resident in Jordan and studying abroad on Jordanian passports, as well as all Palestinian residents of the West Bank who depend on their Jordanian passports for travel to other countries.

Lawyer

Continued from 3.

area were roundedup, in addition to the lawyer.

According to his lawyer, Ali Ghuzlan, Yousef was initially accused of a long list of charges but all were proven false in court. His final sentence was one-year imprisonment, of which 68 days — the time he had already spent in detention — were activated and the rest suspended on the charges of giving refuge to a wanted man. He also was fined a record amount of IS2.5 million (about US$3000). Yousef was released the day after his trial.

Ghuzlan told reporters later that the military arrested Yousef for political reasons and that it had no concrete evidence against him.

Talal Abu Afifeh

Continued from 4.

orders since the beginning of 1980; of these, 42 were under town arrest as of August 31, 1984." The report rebuked Israel for these measures, saying that: "Hundreds of [Palestinians] have had their lives disrupted by administratively imposed restriction orders which have confined them to towns and villages without charge or trial... in the interests of 'national security.' The accusations levelled against these people have usually been extremely vague and AI believes that many have had their freedom curtailed as a punishment for their non-violent activity."

Nazareth

Continued from 4.

extremists are now actively materialising their earlier threats. The police confirmed that an assault had taken place but refused to comment on possible motives or on the progress of the investigation. Rida claimed police have shown little concern. They are "treating the matter simply as a robbery or a personal conflict and they are letting the real criminals get away," she charged. "If it happened to an Israeli Jew, the police would do their utmost to locate the assailants," Rida said. "In a way, the police are collaborating with the racist assailants."

CALANDAR OF EVENTS

*** * At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre: Tel: 288189, East Jerusalem * ***

January 25, 26, 27, 30 — 7:00 p.m., and January 29 — 6:00 p.m., Matinees at 3:30 on Friday and Sunday

Film: *"Beyond the Walls,"* starring Mohammed Bakri and Arnon Zadok.

January 25 — 10:00 p.m., January 29 — 9:00 p.m.

Tourist Show: El-Hakawati presents *"1000 and One Night for You."* A folklore music programme for friends and visitors to Jerusalem. US$9.

January 31 — 7:00 p.m.

Film: *"Hanna K,"* directed by Costa-Cavras.

*** * In And Around Jerusalem * ***

January 26 — 8:30 p.m.

Organ Concert: by Kimberly Marshall at the Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem. Tel: 719927.

January 30 — 8:00 p.m.

Musical Evening: The YMCA and British Council present a *Wind Trio* at the East Jerusalem YMCA, Nablus Road.

January 31 — 4:00 p.m.

Film: *"The Return of the Soldier."* At the British Council, on Nablus Road. Tickets free, but pick up in advance.

ERROR

In issue no. 244 dated January 4, 1985, the article entitled *Emigration, Deterioration Threaten Jerusalem* contains an error. The reference to the Greek Catholic Church's policy regarding real estate in the Old City was intended to refer to the Greek Orthodox Church. The Greek Catholic Church owns no residential buildings in the Old City of Jerusalem.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Farmer Ahmad Mohammed Nimr points to his grandfather's tomb on his land in Sur Baher. Outraged over the recent confiscation of his land, Nimr said, "Here lie our grandparents and we should have that choice too."/AO photo.

January 16, 1985

YOUTHS SENTENCED TO LIFE

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced four Bani Na'im residents to life imprisonment: Amin Qassem Hassan Ahmad D'ais, Nabil Mahmoud 'Abd al-Hafez D'ais, Zahran Mar'i al-Zaidat, and Khaled Mohammed Mahmoud al-Khdour. All were charged with assassinating Khaled Shaqer al-Rumailat from Bani Na'im for his collaboration with Israel. They were also charged with forming an organisation under the name, "The Youth and Planning Committee" to travel abroad in order to join a Palestinian organisation.

4700 POLITICAL DETAINEES

GENEVA — The monthly magazine issued by the International Red Cross reported that there are 1142 detainees in Ansar camp in south Lebanon. Another 26 detainees are held in various Israeli detention centres. There are 3578 Palestinian prisoners in 25 Israeli prisons in Israel and the occupied territories.

YOUTHS JAILED

JENIN — Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Qays Salim Masaad to six months in prison and Hassan Lutfi al-Labadi to two months in prison on charges of demonstrating. The two are from the village of Yamoun in the Jenin district.

Kamal Abd al-Latif al-Ma'ani of Jenin was sentenced to five months in prison on charges of demonstrating and throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

The military court in Jenin sentenced Ahmed Salim Rashid to two years in prison, Amer Hilmeh Jaradat and Amin Saleh to one-and-a-half years in prison and Bilal Said Ijbarat to ten months in prison. The four, from the village of Silit al-Harthiyeh, were charged with security offences.

YOUTH SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Bassem Mohammed Ahmed Shalash of Shuqba village, Ramallah to 10 months in prison and 14 months suspended for membership in a Palestinian organisation.

MAHMOUD AL-ARDEH 65

ARRABEH — Haj Mahmoud Abd al-Fattah al-Ardeh, mayor of the village of Arrabeh and a prominent figure in the occupied territories, died at the age of 65.

January 17, 1985

TWO HELD FOR FLAG-BURNING

BAQA AL-GHARBIYA — Two 17-year-old boys from the village of Baqa al-Gharbiya have been held by Israeli police on charges of removing an Israeli flag from the sports hall in their village and burning it.

30-YEAR-OLD HOUSE DEMOLISHED

MARJ NA'JEH — Israeli bulldozers demolished the home of Zayed Sarhan Mohammed Ayed in the village of Marj Na'jeh, near Nablus, on the pretext that the house was too close to the main road.

The house was built 30 years ago.

GAZANS GET STIFF SENTENCES

GAZA — Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Dr Ibrahim al-Makadmeh of Gaza to eight-and-a-half-years in prison on charges of membership in an Islamic organisation and possession of weapons.

Mohammed Saber Abd al-Aziz Abu Oadeh was sentenced to three-and-a-half-years in prison on charges of possessing weapons.

DHEISHEH YOUTH JAILED

NABLUS — Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Atiyeh Jibril Hasnat of Dheisheh camp to eight months in prison and 14 months suspended sentence on security charges.

3 NABLUS RESIDENTS JAILED, FINED

NABLUS — Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Jamil Muhana of Deir al-Ghussun in the Nablus district to five months in prison, a five-month suspended sentence and a IS200,000 fine on security charges.

Samir Abdullah Daraysheh of the village of Duma was sentenced to two years in prison and two years suspended and Mohammed Abdullah Saleh was sentenced to one year in prison and two years suspended on the same charges.

January 18, 1985

SIT-IN AT UNRWA

JABALYA — A group of refugee families staged a sit-in protest at the UNRWA storages in Jabalya camp in the Gaza district, demanding that the agency allocate to them their monthly food rations.

BUTCHERS' STRIKE

GAZA — Butchers in Jabalya camp began an open strike to protest a hike in taxes and in the fee imposed on the slaughter of each individual animal by the owners of the Souq.

MAYOR BURIED

ARRABEH — The mayor of Arrabeh, Haj Abd al-Fattah al-Ardeh, was buried in his home village on Thursday afternoon. The funeral was attended by dozens of residents, including elected mayors of several West Bank towns.

January 19, 1985

MUKHTAR SHOT

NABLUS — Unidentified persons shot and wounded the *mukhtar* of the village of Bidya in the Nablus district. The *mukhtar*, who is suspected of dealings with Israeli settlers, was taken to the hospital and treated for stomach wounds.

January 20, 1985

ISLAMIC GROUP'S BUILDING BULLDOZED

GAZA — The Israeli authorities demolished the building of the Islamic Association to the north of Shatte' camp in Gaza.

The Muslim fundamentalist association rented the building, which included three rooms playgrounds, and floodlights, in 1976.

MOLOTOVS AT ISRAELI APPOINTEE

JENIN — Three petrol bombs were thrown at the home of the Israeli-appointed mayor of Jenin, Abdullah Lahluh. There were no damages or injuries reported.

DOCTOR FREED

JERUSALEM — Israeli authorities released physician Isam Id Keideh of Jerusalem after he completed a three-month prison sentence on charges of membership in a resistance group.

YOUTH JAILED

NABLUS — Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Samir Ramadan Zeid al-Kilani, 15, to 40 days in prison and an IS120,000 fine on charges of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

YOUTH JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Sarhan Isma'il Doudin to four months in prison and 20 months suspended sentence on charges of membership in a resistance organisation.

Students nervously cram for the grueling *Tawjihi* exams, which lasted about a week./AO photo.

STUDENT JAILED, FINED

NABLUS — Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced student Riyad Ahmed Abu Zneid, 14, of the village of Dura in the Hebron district to a three-month suspended sentence and an I850,000 fine on charges of demonstrating.

January 21, 1985

GRAVES DESTROYED

JERUSALEM — A group of residents attending a funeral discovered that 30 tombs at the Bab al-Rahmeh cemetery in the Old City of Jerusalem had been severely damaged.

ISRAELI CAR STONED

BALATA — An Israeli car was stoned while travelling on the Nablus road near Balata refugee camp. The front windshield was smashed and the driver slightly injured.

BUS BURNED IN GAZA

GAZA — An Israeli bus was set on fire in Gaza. The bus was severely damaged, and police are investigating.

January 22 1985

LEVINGER MOVES INTO DHEISHEH

BETHLEHEM — Rabbi Moshe Levinger, an anti-Arab Gush Emunim activist from Kiryat Arba, has moved his vigil from the entrance of Dheisheh to the roof of a local school inside the camp.

Levinger has been holding a vigil at the camp for the last two months to protest what he says are "recurring incidents of stone throwing."

The rabbi is under constant army protection and has been living in a caravan with several followers, including — for one day — two members of Knesset.

TOP: Egypt recently contributed US$10,000 to the renovation of the Hassan Bek Mosque in Jaffa, shown here before its collapse in 1981. INSERT: The mosque after it collapsed. BOTTOM: Dentists Union doctors attended a lecture at the Union of Professional Associations in Beit Hanina January 18, 1985./AO photo.

ABED RABO SENT FOR PSYCHIATRIC TESTS

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah has agreed to refer Issa Abed Rabo of Dheisheh, who is standing trial on charges of murdering two Israeli students, to a medical committee which will study his psychological profile for 30 days.

ARSON IN TAX OFFICES

BETHLEHEM — Arsonists set fire to the income tax offices in Bethlehem. The fire damaged files.

NABLUS DOCTOR JAILED

NABLUS — Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Dr Ruhi Nimer Aref al-Taslik of Nablus to six months in prison and a three-year suspended sentenced on security charges.

STUDENT JAILED

DOMA — Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced student Samir Abdullah Dawabsheh of the village of Doma in the Nablus district to two years in prison and two years suspended on security charges.

Guild Seminar Critiques Palestinian Art

The Palestinian Artists' Guild held an open seminar January 15 at Jerusalem's al-Hakawati theatre to increase public awareness about the Palestinian art movement and to discuss the new association's future plans. Twenty people attended the seminar, including members of the guild, university students and community residents.

The seminar began with a slide show that included recent works of Palestinian and Israeli artists. Artists Karim Dabbah and Suleiman Mansour explained the background of each work. The slide show was followed by a discussion of audience views and suggestions concerning the art movement and the guild.

Gazan artist and member of the administrative committee of the guild, Taysir Barakat of Jabalya refugee camp, spoke of the relationship between the Palestinian artist and the public, which he termed as "weak" and in desperate need of amends. He said that by choosing this profession the Palestinian artist "had chosen a rocky path to ride on," considering the lack of artistic awareness and developed taste among the local population. The Palestinian artist, according to Barakat, is a soldier and a social worker who at times longs for signs of approval or some appreciation for his work. "The artists are working for the common Palestinian cause, but when the public does not react, the artist is disappointed." Barakat suggested that attempts be made to raise public awareness about the art movement through future seminars and pamphlets.

Writer Qassem Mansour, who recently published a booklet on the Palestinian art movement, agreed with Barakat but added that perhaps partial blame for low public interest rests on the artist's choice of style. He said Palestinian artists tend to focus more on their own feelings and experiences in their art rather than on daily life experiences that would have broad appeal. He argued that today's Palestinian art should be "a natural continuation of the distinct Palestinian art movement that started decades ago — always expressing people's total rejection of colonialism and occupation."

Mansour also argued that more emphasis on Palestinian culture and folklore is required "because our struggle against occupation is also a struggle to preserve our heritage and culture," a point echoed by most of the seminar speakers.

Karim Dabbah countered that the serious artist should never sacrifice his own distinct style in search of popular approval. The dedicated Palestinian artist can never be a commercial artist, according to Dabbah.

Other speakers stressed the need to establish a college of fine arts "which would breed a new generation of powerful artists whose talents are currently wasted," said Dabbah. None of the four main universities, nor the many colleges throughout the occupied territories, have a faculty of fine arts.

Langer:

"Jnaid Conditions Deteriorating"

Israeli advocate Felicia Langer visited Jnaid prison in Nablus on January 8 and met with several political prisoners, including Adnan Mansour, Fayez Aqlaah, Abdullah Jloud and Mohammed Abu Waar, all clients of Langer's.

According to *Al Ittihad* newspaper, Langer learned that prison authorities are "following a policy of granting empty promises," referring to promises made to prisoners in order to end their two-week hunger strike last October. The cells are still overcrowded, windows still covered with carcinogenic asbestos material and proper medical treatment still rarely given.

Langer also learned that prisoners' health is deteriorating. Cases of suspected cancer, eye diseases and psychological illnesses are widespread.

Langer said the prison officials' promise to allow Arab doctors into the prison compound to treat patients never materialised.

Prisoners presented the attorney with a list of 120 names of prisoners in need of immediate medical attention. They also gave her "thank you" letters to transmit to MKs Meir Vilner and Charlie Biton, both from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, who expressed their support for Jnaid prisoners. (Translation: Al Ittihad, January 9, 1985)

In Lebanon, West Bank and Gaza:

Legal Status of Palestinians Under Occupation

Observations from the International Centre for Information on Palestinian and Lebanese Prisoners, Deportees and Missing Persons, Paris, November 1984.

TOP RIGHT: Israeli troops man strategic positions to limit escalating resistance attacks after the invasion of Lebanon. LEFT: Israeli soldiers gloat in front of the Dome of the Rock after the capture of Jerusalem in 1967. BOTTOM: *Palmach* troops attack the village of Sosa in the Galilee in 1948. BOTTOM: The random round-up of Arabs for interrogation is a common occurrence in all occupied territory under Israeli control.

The situation of the civil population of Lebanon under Israeli occupation and of the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza are characterised by the fact that from the point of international humanitarian law, they come under the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of August 10, 1949 relating to the protection of civilians in wartime.

But in both cases, Israel refuses to accept its application.

The reasons for this refusal are not the same in each case. It follows from this that there are both similarities and differences in the two situations.

I. *On the Applicability Of The 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention*

The 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention applies in the case of all armed conflict between the High Contracting Parties, or in the case of occupation of all or part of the territory of a High Contracting Party.

However, Israel maintains that the Convention only applies to territories which, before the break-out of hostilities, were under the sovereignty of one of the contracting states. This, according to Israel, was not the case either in Gaza or in the West Bank, which were simply under the military occupation of Egypt and Jordan respectively.

This argument has been rejected by all the international authorities and notably by the UNO and by the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross). For the Convention does not in any way judge in advance the question of sovereignty. It concerns people and not territory, the rights of people and not legal questions about territorial status.

Israel could not use the same argument after its invasion of Lebanon, and has been led to take up a completely untenable position. This consists in claiming that there is no military occupation, just operations against a band of terrorists. This absurd argument has been categorically denounced by the UNO and contested by the ICRC and even by the Supreme Court of Israel (decision taken on July 13, 1983 in the case: Lawyers of certain al-Ansar prisoners *versus* the Israeli Defence Minister).

The fact remains that Israel still continues to claim that the Fourth Geneva Convention, of which it is, however, one of the signatories, is not applicable to the civil populations either of the West Bank and Gaza or of Lebanon, adding, however, that although it is not bound by it, it applies "pragmatically" certain of its "humanitarian" clauses. This is in itself far from being true.

II. *The Stipulations Of The Fourth Convention And Their Violation By The Israeli Occupying Forces*

This is not the place to examine in detail the stipulations of the Fourth Convention and their violation by the Israeli occupying armies, in Lebanon as much as in the territories occupied in 1967.

We will just note that article 27 lays down a humanitarian obligation ensuring people's protection "without any unfair discrimination on grounds of race, religion or political opinion" and that this general obligation is made specific in various articles of the Convention, notably articles 18-20 which concern the special protection of hospitals and health service workers, article 31 which forbids any moral or physical constraint to obtain information, article 32 which forbids any physical cruelty torture, etc... article 33 which forbids the destruction of personal or real property and article 49 which forbids compulsory removal from the occupied territories, etc...

It should be remembered that in accordance with articles 64-76, the occupying power does not have the right to bring proceedings against protected persons for hostile activities carried out before the occupation, except where the law and customs of war have been broken (art. 70). The occupying power is allowed to lay down the regulations vital for the security of its forces but the provisions must be brought to the public's attention and cannot be applied retrospectively (art. 65). The penalties incurred in the case of any violation of these provisions must be imposed by an authority which has its seat in the occupied territories (art. 66): they cannot give rise to punishments applied outside the occupied territories.

Finally, the security measures which the occupying power is only able to adopt for overriding reasons of security are limited to enforced residence and are subject to the restricting conditions which are carefully detailed in articles 79-135.

All the information in our possession establishes that the obligations which the Geneva Conventions lay down as being imperatively the responsibility of the occupying power are not respected by Israel.

III. *Similarities And Differences In The Treatment Of The Civil Populations In The Various Occupied Territories*

The difference in the alleged reasons for refusing the application of the Geneva Conventions leads to differences in Israeli practice in the various territories.

On the West Bank the procedure is that of the promulgation of military edicts. More than one thousand edicts have been promulgated up to now. Military and police repression are added to legal repression. The Palestinians are brought before military law courts which apply Israeli law, which, as far as security is concerned, is mostly made up of the measures of the mandate law (that is to say, from the time of the British mandate) and notably the "emergency" Defence Regulations of 1945.

On the other hand, and in order to pay lip service to the fiction according to which there is no occupation in Lebanon, the repression in this territory is carried out without any legal basis except that of the "Emergency Regulations" signed by General Sharon, minister of defence, on June 8, 1982, that is to say, two days after the invasion began, and the "Procedure Relating to Detentions," decreed on October 1, 1982 by General Amir Dori. This regulation appears to replace the former while meanwhile retrospectively validating it, and has since been extended.

But whatever the differences are, the similarities are numerous as regards the methods used, as we will show in our Centre's subsequent information bulletins.